F 342 [404 cont.] be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, F [132] drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adja- F [531 cent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are con- 554] nected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings F for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day peo- [512] ple stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I 342 From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali B and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used. L 342 "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the B family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are [316] of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

We

Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835

The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

582 614 835 583 684 178

The offices are as follows:

624 622 614 554

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

War

622 (1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
624 c. Kelake Ama Rere
614
554

--Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung

V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)

(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

622 The kepala kampong is purely an administrative
624 chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the
614 only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

Wa

614 giving the first fruits to the masters; (c) owing
567 certain duties to the masters; (d) respect shown
423 to the masters; and (e) not being in a good
582 place at feasts. They may intermarry, however, and the bride price for them is the same, etc. He said that even in the beginning they intermarried; in fact as soon as they got into the area they integrated into the marriage system. So strong is the need for these marriage rules that even slaves must be put into the system.

The Ama Rere is a peculiar case too. They
[727] are descendants of war captives brought back from the Maumeri area eighteen generations ago. They too have no ritual standing, as can be seen above in their lack of chance to do any of the duties of the Datong suku. They do not have their own land either. They have to work for
[796] Ia and Ib. That is, they have no ritual standing, no land, and they must do certain duties. In the marriage system, however, they are equal.

614 Also peculiar in the Wailolong setup is the
554 Ama Hurint. They do not have a full position
423 in the kampong, because their ancestors came in from Leloba. They have no land of their own in Wailolong. Each year they receive land for their use during the next year.

721 Then we got onto the schedule and learned a number of incidental things. For instance, right now the Leloba folk are scared to walk along the road near Waibalun because there is a state of war. Thus this is a real war and not play, and there is real danger of death. The "big houses,"
778 i.e., the houses of the radja tuan and the kelake,
789 have holy stones before them. It is not proper
171 to call them nubanara but rather saoniwa(ng). The nubanara proper are the holy stones of the kampong in front of the korke. The saoniwa(ng) hold the magical power of the radja tuan and the kelake. The power of these stones invigorates the respective chiefs, and this is why the folk

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789 that the Larantuka radja does have an aradjang, but this is not the word for it here. I must
•554 get the right word. There seem to be no out-
614 ward signs of status. The main thing seems to be a general knowledge of everything in the kampong and also whether a person lives in a "big house" or not. The Lango'Bele' system is impressive.

551 Notes on Larantuka: The mandur in the pasanggrahan is a Madurawho married a Catholic woman here. His name before was Ali, but now since he became A Catholic he is known as Andreas. His children have taken their mother's Larantuka name, Dosari, and their forenames are Dominicus, Paulus, and Maria. One who died was named Aloysius.

501 There was one prau owned in Leloba. It was owned by the guru. It was wrecked yesterday.

651 The tax here now is fl. 23.50 per adult man. In the prewar period it was fl. 5.00. The people have trouble paying it and always have had this difficulty.

656 In the prewar period if one did not obey
687 the government one could be jailed easily. Since the war this government control has weakened. For example, in a recent land case the present kepala kampong would not sign a paper of the government, nor would the guru. The kepala kampong was jailed, but the guru tried to bail him out. The government refused to accept bail unless he signed. He asked if it would be possible to re-open the case later if he signed. They said yes, but then refused to re-open the case afterwards.

R Roworeke: On Christmas, we came back through
796 the mountains. On the way, especially in the
535 kampongs in the Lio mountains, we saw many small processions with drums, singing, and many people who were drunk. While dancing the people seem to use handkerchiefs most of the time. This is

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
• 554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

Although there is a general similarity in
342 house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay Also part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem. Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
583 554 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoŏ). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

[1] [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

000 614 592 342 178 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-Wol newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 531 554 624 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 342 592 554 534 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there are four households. The tuan tanah has a section to one side, since the old place in the rear, as in the round house, is impossible because the rear door is located there. He keeps the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan tanah house the drum house. These drums are important, as they are used in agricultural rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in the kampong here. I hear that there are some in kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kampong there is a tree (the Weol one died some time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather small). Around these trees (the assistant knows nothing of the significance of the tree) are placed stones. He says they have no magic power, but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there below the tree. In the cleansing of the kampong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 582 614 [621] Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out of the clan. It is also possible to marry within or without the kampong, and the kampong usually consists of one clan. But even now one may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in special cases one might marry in, for example, if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there were other cases too. But since about fifty years ago endogamous marriages within the clan have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages are outside of the clan. The first case of clan endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember what trouble was caused if any. The assistant has heard tales of evil following such cases of endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

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776 The main god, called in the books Mori Kraeng, is properly called Moring Agunaran.

565 Kraeng here is the original title for high
554 nobility, but it has been cheapened now and any big may use this as a title. Thus the kepala kampong may be called kraeng.

196 At ceremonies animals are cut up. This is
614 done by families or pangas. Each man in the
782 group sacrificing the beast, touches its neck
231 with his knife, and finally one who is very clever kills the animal. (This is like the touching of the head stuff in Borneo head-hunt-
[887] ing.) Praying is done by a clever old man. He is not necessarily the tuan tanah or mbako or any set person.

526 The whip dance (main tjatji, as they say
535 here) is done at many feasts. Each house has
574 some costumes, and the men may use them. They
555 say that it is true in these whip dances that they try to hurt the opponents, and that the girls admire one who has put out another's eye.

764 In these two kampongs there are no graves under the holy trees, but they say that there are graves under the tree at Ruteng.

535 In the afternoon we went to see some fine
527 dancing on the Ruteng alun-alun. This is part
526 of the week long independence festival. The
533 lads are still doing the whip stuff, and they get prizes if they draw blood. There are scars on the backs of many of the men because of this. There was a troupe of amazingly dressed men from kampong Ruteng who were dancing and sing-
[276] ing. Betel ingredients were passed to them. Two old women were beating drums to all sorts of rhythms, and there was also a lad beating on a gong. Later two women played two gongs, and women and men played drums. This entertain-
[887] ment was complicated and good. Most drummers
200 and gong players seem to be old women. These

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624 565 554 769 346 574 [782] order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 624 532

342 531 [171] Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 342 531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 231 [624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of 872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition. 484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once 132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

324 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use 482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved 302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time 346 and said that there is no head under the new 231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was [554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

764 with upright stone. They are built by indi-
211 viduals to commemorate their own name. There
(554) is great vanity here in keeping one's name
alive after death. Thus the ngadu builder
gets his name on the ngadu too. There are no
offerings, however, at these rest places.

231 The Nageh in Soa kill animals with spears
411 as they are released (probably a hunting sur-
vival). Perhaps this is related to Toradja
spearing?

Larantuka: We left Ende on Friday, January
556 6, and after ten and a half hours we got to
237 Larantuka. There we met a young Chinese trader
177 who was born in Lomblem and whose father has a
438 toko there. They are now in Surabaja, but he
comes through Flores and the islands to buy
stuff each year. He is now buying kemiri nuts.
He told me a lot about Lomblem. He said that
there are thousands of tusks in Lomblem alone.
And he said that Maumere, which is relatively
rich in various products, is cornering a large
part of the tusks of Flores. In other places,
for example, in Larantuka, there are fewer
tusks now, and people are beginning to pay
money instead. The Maumere folk, he said,
think nothing of money. The real wealth and
goal of all striving is tied up in the tusks.
He said that the Chinese brought the tusks in
originally and told the radjas here that they
were the teeth of the naga (which was important
locally before that). The radjas paid dearly
for them, and soon all the folk here wanted
them. Hence, thousands were imported by the
Chinese. It may have been the same situation
as that which obtains with the mokko in the
Alor area. They too may well be from China.

511 This Chinese said that in Lomblem the folk
461 want very little. They work a little, just
185 enough to get the corn going, and then drink
273 enough gin to go to sleep. When drunk they

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 The belief here is that the more children one
534 has the better it is for him. A man feels big
552 if his family is large. It is fine to have
857 twenty children. They have no idea at all of limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 I asked about war in the old days and how
789 any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamiê when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

War

721 789 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[64] [534] The bigger the family the better it is. A big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky. As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 178 165 758 The average size of the family here is about eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per cent of the children did not grow up. Now they nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 368 178 Women do most of the upbringing. The father, for example, just looks on once in awhile. The mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 178 There has been no significant change in the concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

R

565 the present time. Thus the guru and the assis-
555 tant had illiterate, pagan, farmer fathers.

554 The only time one can see status marks is
614 at feasts, when the ornaments of rank are worn.
422 These are made of gold and are now largely
565 lost. Some still remain. They are suku property, and not all suku have them. Odja and Gusa have some (this may be why the kapitan and others are mad for gold: they want to get it in order to have ornaments made for feasts and for ceremonial objects). If they sell these objects, they will become sick. On ordinary days, one cannot tell upper class folk (for example, members of the Odja suku) from ordinary people. They are really unclear about this. Then I asked who wore no gold and who had no such marks of status, if all of Odja and all of Gusa and all the members of some other suku had them. They said vaguely that those who did not wear them were the "ordinary folk." I asked who, the slaves? And they eagerly said yes. I get the idea that there are not many of these ceremonial objects left and perhaps only enough so that the mosa laki or kapitan, etc., can wear those of the suku at certain feasts. They strut about wearing the suku's wealth. And these things are suku property and do not belong to the families.

614 The social order of the individual, family,
565 etc., here has not changed very much. The
624 most direct thing is that only certain folk of
[178] the right suku have land rights in the kampong.
[429] Within the suku, however, the mosa laki or other office holder is probably a bit higher. They say, however, that the mosa laki gets no more of a bride price for his daughter than an ordinary man gets for his. I can't get very far in class investigation here, that's quite clear. And now I see why he was so puzzled at first when I asked him to indicate class distinc-

War

423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [391] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers.
789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus.
554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a high and a low language, but I wonder if this may not mean that there is merely a polite idiom. Here in this area they all speak the same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the listed posts. One must be respectful to the uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to interclass marriage, and everything depends upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However, the entire upper "nobility" is really integrated with the commoners. That is, there is no heaven descent. They are just like the other people, except genealogically they are ranked a bit higher. All power also depends on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala, started his religious work. He had been converted before this at the school in Larantuka. At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampong lama of Riang Kamiñ (this is another example of how much and how recently these kampongs have been moved from place to place). In fact, only in these years, all kampongs except Lewoneda were still in the hills. Wailolong was moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in 1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present location.

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764 were put in a box and placed in the "attics" of the tombs. All except one of these tombs are gone, and this one is the Odja shrine. Now I understand why the bones are placed above in this shrine. This is like all the [656] big men in the old days. Today, they can't use trees because the government forbids this on hygienic grounds (why worry? the place is so dirty and disease-ridden that it seems foolish). Today the big men are buried in especially elaborate tombs of stone, in which many bodies are put (as in Sumba). Formerly, ordinary folk were just buried, or if they had money enough they were placed in tombs.

764 Thus one can say that only big men, that is, ●554 the kepala suku, were put in the attics of the 565 pondok before. Other nobles were placed in stone tombs if they could pay the expenses. Evidently both of these kinds of nobles were first placed in a tree. An ordinary noble who did not have enough money, however, was simply buried, as there would be no use putting him in a tree if there was not to be a second funeral and a stone tomb.

764 Today bodies must be buried within twenty-four hours. They are buried or put in tombs. The only "memory feast" aside from the second burial disposal was held when it was desired to ask for rain by calling directly on the dead (evidently).

[184] Only the pagans still put the body in knee-chest position at burial. The Christians and Mohammedans bury their dead in an extended posture.

At the old tombs, when they have a funeral of one to be put therein, the Catholic priest, (and I presume the Mohammedan leader too) prays.

At the funeral feast, pagans, Catholics and Mohammedans all kill animals.

517 All amusement is local, except for rare and

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
[622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual
[554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very
123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words
[212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could
[515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask
123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which
103 Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona. I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

614 621 602 He also said that no matter how long a person is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong.

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja-naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 291 177 554 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them then. Otherwise, there is just about no difference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

534 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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764 they will encounter no big stones while digging, as this is a sign that more people will die. After the burial they return to the house and [888] pray. If the person who died was old or a big [554] man, they kill a buffalo. If the person was of lesser status, they kill only a pig or a fowl. Three days later, if the person who died was old or was a big man, they may kill two or three horses or buffaloes and eat them. At the same time, if the person was of lesser status, they will kill a pig or fowl.

[766] Clothes are placed on the grave of a person who dies a violent death. (See Coolhaas.)[1]

The local Catholics go through the same rites, except that they add on the church service.

[178] The big feasts for the dead dalu mentioned by Coolhaas[1] are no longer held. On such occasions they might wait quite a while. They killed up to perhaps ten buffaloes.

769 There is a very close relation between the ancestors and the death cult. The dead are always invited to feasts. There are no tombs, but the ancestor cult is strong.

[574] Note: The whip duels are held at all big
526 feasts: New Year, harvest, illness exorcism,
524 wedding, but not at the funeral.

All local recreation is native: tjatjih (whip duelling), tug of war, rope jumping (1), children's games like tag and hide and seek (he says they are the "hunter and hunted"), the bam- [535] boo jumping dance (tekarulu). The dances are: sanda (round), sae (group and solo), danding (round). They play the rattan football (raga) and soccer.

526 The most loved of all is tjatjih. Cornelius says that to the best of his knowledge he has never known of any man being actually blinded, because the superorbitals protect the eyes. However, plenty of people get bad scars on their

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]